

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Sights and events in London in the first year of the persecution.—King Philip leaves England.—Abdication of Charles V.—Parliament.—Pope Paul IV.—The Dudley Conspiracy.—The princess Elizabeth again suspected.—Pole consecrated archbishop of Canterbury.—Visitation of the Universities.—Exhibitions of bigotry.—Philip returns to England.—Quarrel of the Pope with Spain, and his alliance with France.—Philip urges a declaration of war against France.—Stafford's seizure of Scarborough Castle.—English forces sent to the Flemish frontier.—Battle of St. Quentin.—Hostilities between England and Scotland.—Calais taken by the French.—Guines surrendered, and Hammes evacuated.—The war ill-conducted.—Interview of Philip's ambassador with Elizabeth.—Death of Mary.

THERE is no more curious record of the outward life of London in these fearful times than "The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant Taylor." Let us glance at the jottings-down of the sights beheld, and the events gossiped about, by this dweller near Queenhithe, for a few months of 1555, to obtain a notion of the strange scenes which were then exhibited. On the 30th of April, tidings came that the queen was delivered of a prince; and the bells were rung in every steeple, and *Te Deum* sung in every choir. The intense desire of the queen for an heir to the throne was the repeated source of ridiculous rumors, not confined to the gaping Londoners, but solemnly transmitted to the emperor, as the crowning joy of the marriage of his son. On the 5th of May, the ambassador to Charles V. writes home that the emperor had sent for him at four o'clock in the morning, to know if the news were true. * Machyn's record tells of the disappointed hope in few words. "The morrow after, it was turned otherwise." The Whitsun season brings various amusements. Master Cardmaker, the vicar of St. Bride's, with an upholsterer and his wife, are burnt at Smithfield. The Clerks go in procession; and a goodly mass is performed; and the waits are playing round Cheap, and the hos is borne about by torchlight. There are May games at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and at Westminster, with giants and morris-dancers, and the hobby-horse, and the lord and lady of the May riding gorgeously. In a day or two after, seven men are taken out

* Tyler, vol. ii. p. 470.

of Newgate, to be carried to Essex and Suffolk, to burn; and on the 1st of July, Master Bradford and a tallow-chandler's apprentice are burnt in Smithfield, with a great company of people. With an occasional burning to keep the multitude in remembrance of their blessings, the summer passes; and on the 15th of September the pope's jubilee and pardon are declared at St. Paul's, "and as many as will receive his pardon, to be shrived and fast three days in one week, and to receive the blessed sacrament the next Sunday after, and then clean remission of all their sins." In November, the Romish ceremonies burst forth in unusual splendour, upon the occasion of the death of Gardiner, chancellor and bishop of Winchester; when there are dirges in every parish, and the mass of *requiem*, "and so prayed for after the old custom." The great burnings at Oxford have preceded the death of the chancellor, and Bonner does not immediately honour his memory by any exhibitions in Smithfield. But "a stripling" is whipt about Paul's Cross, "for speaking against the bishop that preached the Sunday before;" and "an old man, a shepherd," who spoke certain things before the sermon at the Cross, is taken to the Counter. There was a delay of three months before Gardiner was carried to his final resting-place at Winchester; and whilst his embalmed body lay in a hearse at St. Mary's Overies, five men and two women went into Smithfield to burn; and there was a commandment through London over night, that "no young folk should come there." The Christian duty of putting men and women to a cruel death for their opinions was too subtle to be properly impressed upon tender minds, by the bonfire lighting up the gabled roofs on a dark January morning.

It is recorded in the citizen's diary that on the 29th of August, "the king's grace took his journey toward Dover, and with a great company; and there tarried for the wind." Philip reached Calais on the 4th of September. His sojourn in England had not been an agreeable one to him. The parliament would not consent to his being crowned as king of England. He was obnoxious to the people; although he conducted himself with an evident desire not to offend by unnecessary interference with the ordinary course of government, and by keeping his haughty nature under control. He maintained his state without being a burthen upon the English revenue; and scattered his money with a liberal hand. "With all this," says Micheli, "he cannot live with dignity in this country, on account of the insolence with which foreigners

are treated by the English." Mary wept over his departure, but was somewhat consoled by his promise to return in the spring. He returned not to England till March, 1557. When the sickly and irritable queen expected her husband, and received only his excuses, she would shut herself up in her room, and see no one for days. On one occasion, according to a document dated March 26th, 1556, "the queen, on hearing that the king would not return to England for a long time, was in a rage, and caused his picture to be carried out of the Privy Chamber."* Philip was called to a destiny more suited to his proud and ambitious nature than to be the unequal partaker of sovereign power over a jealous insular people. He was summoned to become the head of the greatest European monarchy, by the voluntary abdication of his father. Charles had been sovereign of the Netherlands for nearly fifty years; he had been king of Spain for forty years; he had been emperor of Germany for thirty-six years. On the 25th of October, 1555, Charles, in a solemn assembly at Brussels, although only in his fifth-sixth year, and in full possession of his faculties, resigned the sceptres of the Netherlands and of Spain in favour of his son. He had already bestowed upon Philip the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. In a monastery of Estremadura, the greatest prince of his time was to close his long career of ambition. His "cloister life" offers a curious study of human nature.

It has been pointed out that Philip, when he had left England, and the prospect of a child who should succeed to the English crown had become visionary, did not disregard "the affairs of a turbulent people, upon whom he had no hold but the slight thread of a hypochondriacal woman." The opinion of his neglect which Mackintosh expressed is disproved by communications between the privy council and the king. The minutes of the council were translated into Latin, and transmitted to him at Brussels, and were returned with his remarks, also in Latin. His notions of the functions of parliament, as expressed in one of these papers, show how well it was for the civil as well as religious liberty of our country that his influence and authority here were soon at an end. He "desires that nothing should be proposed in parliament without its having been first communicated to his majesty." † Better was it for us that the bigoted Romanist should be free to preside at *auto-da-fés* in Spain, rather than dictate laws to England through the subservient Council of his confiding wife. The absence of

* "Calendar of State Papers," p. 77.

† Tytler, vol. ii. p. 484.

Philip from England probably caused the parliament, which assembled on the 21st of October, 1555, to dare some opposition to the proceedings of the crown. Sir Anthony Kingston was imprisoned by the Council for his conduct as a member of the House of Commons. Although the parliament of England had crouched at the feet of Rome, and the supremacy of the pope was established, there were certain limits beyond which the most strenuous Romanists were not willing to go. Under a pontiff of moderate views, Julius III., the restitution of the church property was not insisted upon; and the success of Cardinal Pole's measures had been mainly accomplished by his concessions to those possessors of the abbey-lands and chantry revenues who were not disposed to show their aversion to the Reformation by any great sacrifice of their own interests. The queen had manifested her strong convictions by placing in the hands of the legate such church lands as remained in the possession of the crown. But in 1555 Julius III. was succeeded by Paul IV. "It was the destiny of this most furious zealot to contribute more perhaps than any of his predecessors to the spread of that protestantism which he hated, abhorred, and persecuted."* At the period of his accession he had not exhibited those passionate resolves for the re-establishment of the temporal dominion of the see of Rome, which brought him into a posture of hostility to Philip of Spain. But he endeavoured most unwisely to assert his spiritual supremacy, by proclaiming, to the English ambassadors, "the restitution of the lands of the church to be an indispensable duty, the neglect of which would draw upon the culprit the penalty of eternal damnation. He also tried to re-establish the collection of the Peter's pence." † Mary was herself ready to yield to the first thunders of the Vatican; and caused some of the lay-nobility to be sounded upon this very delicate question. The answer was, "that they would never part with their abbey lands, as long as they were able to wear a sword by their sides." ‡ An Act was however passed, not without strong opposition, to restore the tenths and first-fruits to the church; and the impropriations in the queen's gift. This Act had many saving clauses; and one especially, that the legate should apply the revenues so restored to the increase of poor livings; for the finding of able curates to instruct the people; and for the exhibition of scholars. A proposal to give the queen a subsidy and two fifteenths

* Ranke, "History of the Popes," vol. i. p. 317.

† *Ibid.*, p. 318.

‡ Heylin.

was so strenuously opposed, that the secretary of state declared to the House of Commons that her majesty would only accept the subsidy. There was no other parliament held for two years.

The disquietudes and suspicions which were associated with the fact that, however prudent was the princess Elizabeth, she was the hope of those both abroad and at home who were oppressed by the bigotry of the government, were kept alive by the most trifling incidents. Dr. John Dee, an astrologer and magician, who went on casting nativities, and raising spirits, till the days of James I., had come into repute in the middle of the sixteenth century; and he got into trouble, according to his own account, through being suspected of "endeavouring, by enchantments, to destroy queen Mary." In June, 1555, some persons were apprehended "that did calculate the king's and queen's and my lady Elizabeth's nativity; whereof one Dee, and Davy, and Butler, and one other of my lady Elizabeth's, are accused, and that they should have a familiar spirit."* The familiar spirit was believed in, because one of their accusers had "immediately upon the accusation, both his children stricken, the one with present death, the other with blindness." But there was a danger gathering, somewhat more formidable than the conjurations of Dee and his associates. Some young men of good family had conceived the project of assembling together the English exiles of Germany and other parts of the continent, to free England from the Roman pontiff and the Spanish king. Mary was to be sent to Spain; and Elizabeth placed on the throne. The chief leader was Henry Dudley, supposed to have been connected by relationship with the duke of Northumberland who had paid the price of his rash ambition. His notion was, to organize those whom Mary called heretic traitors; and to land them in the Isle of Wight. He would drive out the Spaniards, he said, or he would die for it. He had obtained some encouragement from the French ambassador in London; and had been courteously received by the French king. But although Richard Uvedale, the captain of Yarmouth castle, in the Isle of Wight, had agreed not to molest their landing, there was little hope of transforming into armed bands the serious and aged religious exiles, even if they had countenanced any attempts to change the government by force. They were mostly suffering extreme poverty. Money was to be got to raise soldiers; and a bold device was set on foot, which none but the most sanguine of men would have ventured upon. In the office of the receipt

* Letter in State Paper Office; Tytler, vol. ii. p. 479.

of Exchequer at Westminster, there were bars of Spanish silver lying idle in chests, to the value of 50,000*l.* William Rossey, keeper of the Star Chamber, lived near this office; and had a garden running along the margin of the Thames. Three of the conspirators were enabled to obtain access to these precious chests. They were too heavy to be removed; and they were therefore to be broken open, and the bars carried through Rossey's garden, to a vessel which was to be brought up alongside. The ship was hired; the searcher at Gravesend was bribed to let it pass; and the "great bullion robbery" might have been accomplished, had not Thomas White, one of the company, revealed the scheme to the government. On the 18th of March, 1556, about twenty of the accused were conveyed to the Tower. There were persons of good family among them who had opposed the measures of the court in the preceding parliament. Throgmorton, a connection of the man whose acquittal had made him famous, and Uvedale, were first tried. They were convicted; and suffered the death of traitors on the 28th of April. Eight others were executed in May, June, and July. Lord Bray was confined many months on suspicion; but was finally released. Others were pardoned. Mr. Bruce, who has related with great spirit the history of this plot, upon which most historians are silent, says that the ease with which some who were the queen's officers were "seduced from their allegiance, must have added to the many evidences of how slight was the queen's hold upon the affections of the people."* It was the misfortune of the princess Elizabeth, although a natural consequence of her position, to afford cause of jealousy and suspicion to the court, upon the discovery of any treasonable conspiracy. All that could be established against lord Bray was that he had said, "If my neighbour of Hatfield might once reign (meaning the lady Elizabeth), he should have his lands and debts given him again, which he both wished for, and trusted once to see." Elizabeth was again questioned by an agent of the Council, and was written to by her sister; "whereat she wrote a well-penned letter," dated the beginning of August, utterly detesting and disclaiming the rebellion and its actors.† Strype has printed Elizabeth's "well-penned letter"—a curious specimen of her rhetorical style, of which one sentence will suffice. "And among earthly things, I chiefly wish this one, that there were as good surgeons for making anatom-

* Verney Papers, p. 53 to 76.

† Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," vol. iii. part i.-p. 547

ies of hearts, that might show my thoughts to your majesty, as there are expert physicians of the bodies, able to express the inward griefs of their maladies to their patient. For then, I doubt not, but know well, that whatsoever other should suggest by malice, yet your majesty should be sure by knowledge; so that the more such misty clouds offuscate the clear light of my truth, the more my tried thoughts should glisten to the dimming of their hidden malice. But since wishes are in vain, and desires oft fail, I must crave that my deeds may supply that my thoughts cannot declare, and that they be not misdeemed, whereas the facts have been so well tried."

The day after the murder of Cranmer, cardinal Pole was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury; and he then assumed the public functions of the papal legate. He was a man of too much moderation to suit the temper of the furious Paul IV., who subsequently attempted to supersede him as legate, which attempt Mary had the spirit to resist. But he either wanted the inclination or the power to control the extravagant bigotry of the English universities, whose authorities, in 1551, perpetrated deeds that show how little learning is akin to wisdom, when it associates itself with superstitions that outrage the natural feelings of mankind. At the period when two new colleges were founded in Oxford,—Trinity by sir Thomas Pope, and St. John's by sir Thomas White,—that university was visited by the commissioners of the cardinal; who not only burnt all the English bibles and other heretical books, but went through the farce of making a process against the body of Peter Martyr's wife, who had been buried in one of the churches. They could find no witnesses who had heard her utter any heresies, for she could speak no English. So, under the direction of the cardinal, they transferred her body to a dunghill, upon the plea that she had been a nun and had died excommunicated. A scene equally disgusting was perpetrated by Pole's commissioners at Cambridge. They laid the churches of St. Mary's and St. Michael's under interdict, because the bodies of the great reformers, Bucer and Fagius, were buried in them. The dead were then cited to appear; but not answering to the summons, they were judged to be obstinate heretics, and their bodies were to be taken out of their graves, and delivered to the secular power. On the 6th of February, these bodies were publicly burnt, according to the ancient ceremonies, which Rome had found so effectual in the case of Wycliffe.

In March, 1557, Philip returned to England. He came, not

out of affection for his wife, or of regard for his turbulent insular subjects, but to stir up the old English hatred of France, and to drag the nation into a war for his personal advantage. The fiery pope, Paul IV., had conceived that the time had arrived for renewing the attempt of Julius II. to throw off the predominant power of Spain. He panted for the freedom of Italy as it existed in the fifteenth century; he wanted to accomplish his wishes by an alliance with France; he would place French princes on the thrones of Milan and Naples. The Spaniards he pronounced as the spawn of Jews and Moors, the dregs of the earth. When there was a question of temporal dominion to be fought out, the pope did not hesitate to wage war against that faithful son of the church, king Philip; nor did king Philip hesitate to send the duke of Alva, the exterminator of Protestants, to enter the Roman states, and lay waste the territories of the pope. France and Spain were upon the brink of open war when Philip arrived in England. He urged a declaration of war against France. There were grievances in the alleged encouragement which had been given in Wyatt's rebellion; and in the lukewarmness with which Henry II. met queen Mary's desire that he should afford her the means of vengeance upon the exiles for religion who took shelter in France. The most recent complaint was, that France had connived at the equipment of a force by Thomas Stafford, a refugee, who had invaded England with thirty-two followers, and had surprised Scarborough castle. This adventurer claimed to be of the house and blood of the duke of Buckingham, who was beheaded in the time of Henry VIII. The proclamation which he issued from his castle of Scarborough, which he held only two days, was addressed to the English hatred of the Spaniards, rather than directed against the ecclesiastical persecution under which the country was suffering: "As the dukes of Buckingham, our forefathers and predecessors, have always been defenders of the poor commonalty against the tyranny of princes, so should you have us at this juncture, most dearly beloved friends, your protector, governor, and defender against all your adversaries and enemies; minding earnestly to die rather, presently, and personally before you in the field, than to suffer you to be overrun so miserably with strangers, and made most sorrowful slaves, and careful captives, to such a naughty nation as Spaniards."* Stafford and his band were soon made prisoners; and he was beheaded on Tower-hill, and three of his followers

* Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," vol. ii. part ii. p. 518.

hanged, on the 25th of May. Seizing upon this absurd attempt as a ground of quarrel, war was declared against France on the 7th of June; and Philip quitted the country on the 6th of July, never to return.

An English force of four thousand infantry, a thousand cavalry, and two thousand pioneers, joined the Spanish army on the Flemish frontier. That army was partly composed of German mercenaries; the lanzknechts and reiters, the pikemen and cavalry, who, at the command of the best paymaster, were the most formidable soldiers of the time. But the Spanish cavaliers were there, leading their native infantry; and there the Burgundian lances. The army was commanded by Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, who had aspired to the hand of Elizabeth. Philip earnestly seconded his suit, but Mary, wisely and kindly, would not put a constraint upon her sister's inclinations. The wary princess saw that the crown would probably be hers at no distant day; and she would not risk the loss of the people's affection by marrying a foreign Catholic. She had sensible advisers about her, who seconded her own prudence; and thus she kept safe amidst the manifold dangers by which she was surrounded. The duke of Savoy, though young, was an experienced soldier, and he determined to commence the campaign by investing St. Quentin, a frontier town of Picardy. The defence of this fortress was undertaken by Coligni, the admiral of France, afterwards so famous for his mournful death. Montmorency, the constable, had the command of the French army. The garrison was almost reduced to extremity—when Montmorency, on the 10th of August, arrived with his whole force, and halted on the bank of the Somme. On the opposite bank lay the Spanish, the English, the Flemish, and the German host. The arrival of the French was a surprise, and the duke of Savoy had to take up a new position. He determined on battle. The issue was the most unfortunate for France since the fatal day of Agincourt. The French slain amounted, according to some accounts, to six thousand; and the prisoners were equally numerous. Amongst them was the veteran Montmorency. On the 10th of August, Philip came to the camp. Bold advisers counselled a march to Paris. The cautious king was satisfied to press on the siege of St. Quentin. The defence which Coligni made was such as might have been expected from his firmness and bravery. The place was taken by storm, amidst horrors which belong to such scenes at all times, but which were doubled by the rapacity of troops who fought even with each other

for the greatest share of the pillage. After a few trifling successes, the army of Philip was broken up. The English and Germans were indignant at the insolence of the Spaniards; and the Germans were more indignant that their pay was not forthcoming. Philip was glad to permit his English subjects to take their discontents home. They had found out that they were not fighting the battle of England.

The war between England and France produced hostilities between England and Scotland. Mary of Guise, the queen dowager and regent of Scotland, was incited by the French king to invade England. The disposition to hostilities was accompanied by a furious outbreak of the Scottish borderers. They were driven back. But the desire of the queen dowager that England should be invaded was resisted by the chief nobles, who declared themselves ready to act on the defensive, but who would not plunge into war during their sovereign's minority. The alliance of France and Scotland was, however, completed, in the autumn of 1558, by the marriage between the Dauphin and the young queen Mary, which was solemnised at Paris, in the cathedral of Notre Dame. The duke of Guise, the uncle of the queen of Scots, at the beginning of 1558, was at the head of a powerful army to avenge the misfortune of St. Quentin. The project committed to his execution was a bold and patriotic one—to drive the English from their last strong-hold in France. Calais, over whose walls a foreign flag had been waving for two centuries, was to France an opprobrium, and to England a trophy. But it was considered by the English government as an indispensable key to the continent—a possession that it would not only be a disgrace to lose, but a national calamity. The importance of Calais was thus described by Micheli, the Venetian ambassador, only one year before it finally passed from the English power:

“Another frontier, besides that of Scotland, and of no less importance for the security of the kingdom, though it be separated, is that which the English occupy on the other side of the sea, by means of two fortresses, Calais and Guisnes, guarded by them (and justly) with jealousy, especially Calais, for this is the key and principal entrance to their dominions, without which the English would have no outlet from their own, nor access to other countries, at least none so easy, so short, and so secure; so much so, that if they were deprived of it, they would not only be shut out from the continent, but also from the commerce and intercourse of the world. They would consequently lose what is essentially necessary

for the existence of a country, and become dependent upon the will and pleasure of other sovereigns, in availing themselves of their ports, besides having to encounter a more distant, more hazardous, and more expensive passage; whereas, by way of Calais, which is directly opposite to the harbour of Dover, distant only about thirty miles, they can, at any time, without hindrance, even in spite of contrary winds, at their pleasure, enter or leave the harbour (such is the experience and boldness of their sailors), and carry over either troops or anything else for warfare, offensive and defensive, without giving rise to jealousy and suspicion; and thus they are enabled, as Calais is not more than ten miles from Ardes, the frontier of the French, nor further from Gravelines, the frontier of the Imperialists, to join either the one or the other, as they please, and to add their strength to him with whom they are at amity, in prejudice of an enemy. For these reasons, therefore, it is not to be wondered at, that, besides the inhabitants of the place, who are esteemed men of most unshaken fidelity, being the descendants of an English colony settled there shortly after the first conquest, it should also be guarded by one of the most trusty barons which the king has, bearing the title of deputy, with a force of five hundred of the best soldiers, besides a troop of fifty horsemen. It is considered by every one as an impregnable fortress, on account of the inundation with which it may be surrounded, although there are persons skilled in the art of fortification, who doubt that it would prove so if put to the test. For the same reason, Guisnes is also reckoned impregnable, situated about three miles more inland, on the French frontier, and guarded with the same degree of care, though, being a smaller place, only by a hundred and fifty men, under a chief governor. The same is done with regard to a third place, called Hammes, situated between the two former, and thought to be of equal importance, the waters which inundate the country being collected around.* Ninety years later Calais was regarded in a very different light: "Now it is gone, let it go. It was but a beggarly town, which cost England ten times yearly more than it was worth in keeping thereof, as by the accounts in the Exchequer doth plainly appear."†

The expedition against Calais was undertaken upon a report of the dilapidated condition of the works and the smallness of its garrison. It was not "an impregnable fortress," as Micheli says

* Ellis, "Original Letters," Second Series, vol. ii.

† Fuller, "Church History," book viii.

it was considered. The duke of Guise commenced his attack on the 2nd of January, when he stormed and took the castle of Ruysbank, which commanded the approach by water. On the 3rd he carried the castle of Newenham bridge, which commanded the approach by land. He then commenced a cannonade of the citadel, which surrendered on the 6th. On the 7th the town capitulated. Lord Wentworth, the governor, and fifty others, remained as prisoners. The English inhabitants, about four thousand, were ejected from the home which they had so long colonised, but without any exercise of cruelty. "The Frenchmen," say the chroniclers, "entered and possessed the town; and forthwith all the men, women, and children were commanded to leave their houses, and to go to certain places appointed for them to remain in, till order might be taken for their sending away. The places thus appointed for them to remain in were chiefly four, the two churches of Our Lady and St. Nicholas, the deputy's house, and the stable, where they rested a great part of that day, and one whole night, and the next day till 3 o'clock at afternoon, without either meat or drink. And while they were thus in the churches, and those other places, the duke of Guise, in the name of the French king, in their hearing made a proclamation, charging all and every person that were inhabitants of the town of Calais, having about them any money, plate, or jewels to the value of one groat, to bring the same forthwith, and lay it down upon the high altars of the said churches, upon pain of death; bearing them in hand also that they should be searched. By reason of which proclamation, there was made a great and sorrowful offertory. And while they were at this offertory within the churches, the Frenchmen entered into their houses, and rifled the same, where was found inestimable riches and treasures; but especially of ordnance, armour, and other munitions. Thus dealt the French with the English, in lieu and recompence of the like usage to the French when the forces of king Philip prevailed at St. Quentin; where, not content with the honour of victory, the English in sacking the town sought nothing more than the satisfying of their greedy vein of covetousness, with an extreme neglect of all moderation."

Within the marches of Calais the English held the two small fortresses of Guisnes and Hammes. Guisnes was defended with obstinate courage by lord Grey, and did not surrender till the 20th of January. His loss amounted to eight hundred men. From Hammes the English garrison made their escape by night. In the

midst of the national irritation at this great discomfiture, the parliament assembled on the 20th of January. The chief business was that of granting a subsidy to carry on the war against the French king and the Scots, who "daily do practise by all dishonourable ways and means, with the aid and power of all their confederates and allies, to annoy their majesties and this their realm, and other the dominions of the same; and by all likelihood, it opportunity of time and place so permit, do mind to make some invasion into sundry parts of this realm, as well upon the sea-coast as elsewhere."* The forces of the country were probably never in a less efficient state. The greater portion of the reign of Mary had been spent in persecution, and in the detection and punishment of conspirators. The nation was out of heart, thoroughly hating the Spanish alliance, and almost ready to welcome a French or Scottish invasion, if it were to drive out a weak and cruel government. If the administration of Scotland had been less divided in opinion, an army might have crossed the border with little chance of effectual resistance. The want of the material means of warfare appears perfectly ludicrous. There is a letter to the earl of Shrewsbury, the president of the Council of the North, dated October, 1557, in which the writer earnestly begs that ships laden with corn may be sent from Newcastle to Berwick, instead of carrying the corn by land, "which is impossible to do, for all the carriages between York and Newcastle, and all the sacks within twenty miles of Newcastle will not serve that turn."† The subsidy granted by the clergy and laity was employed in fitting out a fleet, to co-operate with a squadron of king Philip in laying waste the French coast. The English ships were under the command of the high admiral, lord Clinton. Their success, if success it could be called, was of the most paltry nature. The combined English and Flemish landed near the town of Conquet, having been destined for an attack upon Brest. After pillaging and burning small towns and villages they retreated to their ships, without attempting any exploit that would have influenced the fortune of the war. An English squadron, by a successful co-operation with the Spanish infantry at Gravelines, contributed to an important victory. But in this short period of hostilities during the reign of Mary, there was nothing accomplished which could be held to redeem the disgrace of Calais. England had fallen. The time was near at hand when

* 4 & 5 Philip & Mary, c. 11.

† Lodge, "Illustrations," vol. i. p. 234.

the world should see "a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking his invincible locks."*

In October 1558, the queen once more entertained the delusion that she should present her subjects with a successor to the throne. An ambassador arrived from Philip to offer his congratulations "on the best piece of news which he had received since his grief for the loss of Calais." When this ambassador, the count de Feria, saw Mary, he found her dying of the dropsy, with which she had been long afflicted. She was so ill, that it became necessary to discuss the question of the succession; and Mary showed no displeasure, but the contrary, when it was proposed that Elizabeth should be declared her successor.† The count de Feria, on the 10th of November, had an interview with Elizabeth. He brought a kind message from Philip; and he endeavoured to impress the princess with the belief that the declaration of her right to the crown was to be attributed to the good offices of the king, and not to Mary or her council. Elizabeth desired to acknowledge the kindness which she had received from Philip when she was in prison; but she declared that she owed her present position to the people. De Feria says, in his despatch, "It appears to me, that she is a woman of extreme vanity, but acute. I would say that she must have great admiration for the king her father's mode of carrying on matters. I fear much that in religion she will not go right, as I perceive her inclined to govern by men who are held to be heretics; and they tell me that the ladies who are most about her are all so. Besides this, she shows herself highly indignant at the things done against her in the lifetime of the queen. She is much attached to the people, and is very confident that they are all on her side (which is indeed true); indeed she gave me to understand that the people had placed her where she now is. On this point she will acknowledge no obligations either to your majesty or to her nobles, although she says they have one and all of them sent her their promise to remain faithful. Indeed there is not a heretic or traitor in all the country who has not started as if from the grave to seek her with expressions of the greatest pleasure." The ambassador adds some remarks upon those who were likely to be the favourites of Elizabeth: "I am told for certain that Cecil, who was secretary

* Milton, "Areopagitica."

† Letter from a counsellor of Philip, in Gonzales' "Transactions of the Royal Historical Academy of Madrid." Tytler, vol. ii. p. 497.

to king Edward, will be her secretary also. He has the character of a prudent and virtuous man, although a heretic.*

On the 7th of November queen Mary had sent for the speaker of the House of Commons, the parliament having assembled on the 5th, and informed him that conferences for peace between England Spain, and France had been opened at Cambray. On the 17th the queen was no more. She is stated to have said, "When I die, Calais will be found written on my heart." The more terrible events of her reign—the persecutions which will ever be associated with her memory—were most probably not regarded by her either as calamities or crimes. Cardinal Pole only survived the queen twenty-four hours. Charles V. had, two months before, closed his career in a spirit of fanaticism which although a cruel persecutor, he often kept under subjection to his policy. In a codicil to his will, the emperor conjures his son, most earnestly, by the obedience he owes him, to follow up and bring to justice every heretic in his dominions; and this without exception, and without favour or mercy to any one. He implores Philip to cherish the Holy Inquisition, as the best instrument for accomplishing this good work. "So," he concludes, "shall you have my blessing, and the Lord shall prosper all your undertakings." †

*Tytler, vol. ii. p. 498.

† Prescott, "Philip II.," book i. chap. ix.

ENGLAND.	SCOTLAND.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	GERMANY.	PAPAL STATES.
1413 Henry V. 1422 Henry VI.	1437 James II. 1462 James III. 1488 James IV. 1513 James V. 1542 Mary	1422 Charles VII. 1461 Louis XI. 1483 Charles VIII. 1498 Louis XII. 1515 Francis I. 1547 Henry II.	1474 Ferdinand and Isabella 1517 Charles I.	1411 Sigismund 1431 Albert II. 1437 Frederick III. 1493 Maximilian I. 1517 Charles V.	1410 John XXII. 1417 Martin V. 1431 Eugene IV. 1447 Nicolas V. 1455 Sixtus III. 1458 Pius II. 1464 Paul I. 1471 Sixtus IV. 1484 Innocent VIII. 1492 Alexander VI. 1503 Pius III. 1503 Julius II. 1513 Leo X. VI. 1522 Adrian VII. 1523 Clement VII. 1534 Paul III.
1547 Edward VI. 1553 Mary	Mary.	1547 Henry II.	1555 Philip II.	Charles V. 1557 Ferdinand I.	Paul III. 1550 Julius III. 1555 Marcellus II. 1555 Paul IV.
ENGLAND.	SCOTLAND.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	GERMANY.	PAPAL STATES.

